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The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule of Gold

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A TERRIBLE PAPER

We realize that this issue is a terrible paper. Nothing but the sternest and most profound sense of duty could have impelled us to issue such a number, and we pray that never again will it be needful to do likewise. Yet we think that every comrade who believes in cleanness and honesty in the Socialist party, especially among its highest officials, will say we did right, even though the matter be to them an unspeakable pain. However, no matter who approves or disapproves our course we propose to carry this battle against freelove teachers and freelove officials to the finish.

WE WILL NOT STULTIFY OUR SOULS REPLYING TO THE CRITICS OF OUR PARTY WHILE WE KEEP SILENT ABOUT SUCH FOUL TEACHING AND PRACTICE INSIDE. IT IS A SURE THING THAT WHOEVER ADVOCATES FREE-LOVE WILL PRACTICE IT, AND NOTHING BUT THE SEARCHLIGHT TURNED ON THEIR WORDS AND DEEDS WILL SAVE THE MOVEMENT FROM THEIR POISONOUS INFLUENCE.

Our only possible object is to help the Socialist Cause and party. We expect to suffer for this; and we fearlessly face the ordeal, only asking those who love decency and honesty to STAND BY US NOW while the battle is on. This "revolution" will do the party good for many years to come.

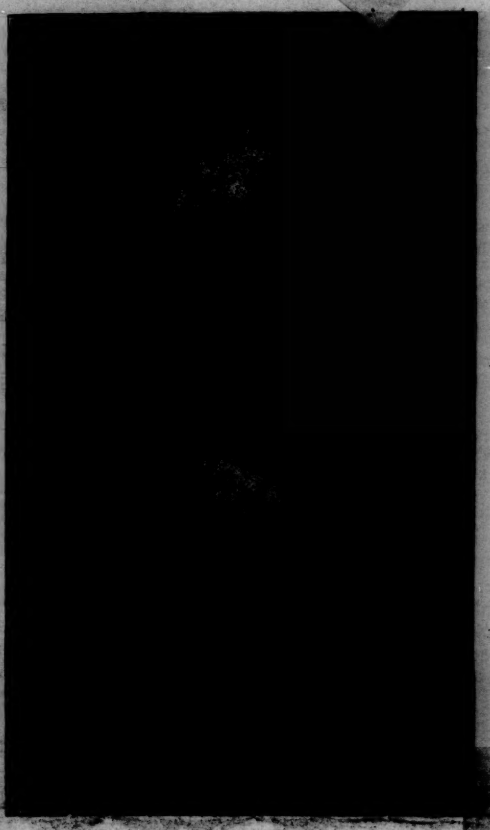
Read every word of this issue; think what a pain it must have been to us and what courage it must have required to publish this evidence and then do what you think is right. We leave the issue with Go[illegible] and honest comrades. We shall not shirk nor falter. ARE YOU WITH US?

AN EDITORIAL CONFESSION

The Editor of the **Christian Socialist** entered the Social Democratic party in the year 1900 and went with it into the combined Socialist party in 1901, in which he has been active ever since. For several years he traveled over many states lecturing and organizing for the Socialist party. And he knows by personal contact with many comrades in city and country, in the meetings and at their homes, that the Socialists as a rule are earnest, honest, intelligent, consecrated people. They are the very "salt of the earth" in these times of moral rottenness and business dishonesty, devoting themselves with divine enthusiasm and marvelous energy and self-sacrifice to the great and glorious task of social redemption. In them and in their cause lies the hope of America and the whole human race for the establishment of righteousness, peace and plenty on earth. It has been a joy, in spite of all hardships, to meet these noble men and women and to work with them. Among the greatest treasures of our life is the friendship of such as these. There is nothing too good for them on earth or in heaven.

But there are certain cities where a less worthy element at first obtained control of the movement, and, owing to the blind loyalty of better comrades, these elements have disgraced and retarded the movement at those points. Certain persons, well known to some who would have the comrades at large think they know nothing of it, have talked and practiced what the movement in general abhors. And our soul has sickened at the well-authenticated reports of worthy comrades in different parts of the country concerning the speech and conduct of some who were either national officers, national organizers or officials in the state or city organization.

We have carried these things quietly as a burden on our heart for years, hoping that the growth of the party would remove them—as it has in many places, until the movement in general is freer from these evils than ever before; and, but for the hurtful, evil influences that



James H. Brower

have affected the national office for the last few years and a few state and city offices, this hindrance would have been wholly overcome. There are evil men and women in every movement, of course; but the national, state and city officials and lecturers, upon whom all hostile eyes are bent, should be particularly free from drunkenness, licentiousness and dishonesty. We have the gravest reasons for believing that the influence of three or four women—all "grass widows"—and of a few men of similar mind and heart, have vastly injured the movement in Chicago and other parts of the country. And it appears that, for mistaken reasons of blind party loyalty, or a desire to curry favor with men and women "higher up," these evil influences have been winked at by many who secretly abhor them. We believe that the present hurricane that is sweeping the party on account of these things will so completely clear things up before it has run its course that there will be no need for another storm of this kind in the party.

And although the official clique is now condemning the **Christian Socialist** and its Editor more severely than any one for this excitement—because our far-reaching voice could not be silenced by intimidation nor our influence ignored, we do not deserve nor claim chief honor (or blame) in this connection. The charges of Mother Jones, James H. Brower and Miss Flaherty were made without our knowledge and would have been completely suppressed but for the bold and incessant agitation of Thos. J. Morgan in the Provoker. We heartily thank these brave and faithful comrades each and all. And when we saw that there really was something definite back of their charges and that the N. E. C. was evidently determined to shield the accused ones, if possible, we felt that it would be cowardly toward those comrades and treasonable to the Party if we did not lend our aid in this battle for decency.

Anyone with average intelligence can see that this paper and its Editor will both be greatly injured, temporarily at least; and those who are so dishonest as to accuse us of agitating these painful matters for personal or publishing advantages are unworthy of attention.

In the performance of this duty we have no personal grouch to vent, and no ambition to gratify, but to serve the highest interests of the Cause.

The noble principles and platform of the Socialist Party call for a National Secretary whose personal life and character are in full accord with the Cause he represents; whose sense of responsibility will prevent him from using the party funds to keep National organizers in the field who openly violate their trust and besmirch the movement. To attain this, we are willing to be misjudged, to suffer for a time, to sacrifice, if need be.

We are very thankful that the Militant of Tyler, Texas, the Miners Magazine of Denver, and the International Socialist Review of Chicago are taking a part in the fray.

We postponed our part of the conflict as long as loyalty and self-respect would permit. It is an irrepressible conflict. We must have a complete housecleaning, and we urge every honest comrade to support us royally till this work is done. Rally to the standard of justice and decency in the movement and **HELP ALL YOU CAN NOW.**

MORE OF MARCH 30

We have had [illegible] thousand more copies of [illegible] printed. In [illegible] typo will be thrown out. It contains Boyce's A. B. C. of Socialism, Carr's great article on the Masonic Revolution and other splendid things. A fine 16 page paper. 1c per copy, 500 for $4.50, 1,000 for $8.

LETTER FROM "BIG TOM HAGGERTY" AND OTHERS

Greensburg, Pa., Feb. 23, 1911.

To the National Committee of the Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill.

Gentlemen: We have learned with much regret the vile attack that has been made on the character of "Mother" Jones by the National Secretary of the Socialist Party. We want to state here for the benefit of the committee and others that this woman and ourselves have traveled together in the lonely hours of night when the bullets whizzed around us. We have been arrested, dragged to jail under a federal injunction, brought into the federal court; her whole life was gone into while on the witness stand, and she won the respect of the entire court, and the judge became her personal friend. We have never known of any tendency to an immoral act on her part, and we have known her for a period of sixteen or seventeen years, and during those years we have traveled together. She has been to me as my own mother, and we protest against any charge of the kind in the name of the United Mine Workers of America. It is strange that Barnes could dare to make such a statement as this when he has not known her nor associated with her as we have.

Hoping these character assassins will be punished, we are,

Yours respectfully,
Thomas Haggerty,
Miles Daugherty, I. B. M.,
Wm. Diamond,
Terrence Ginley,
International Organizers of the United Mine Workers of America.

* * *

We understand that now, appalled by the vast weight of condemnation he has brought down like an avalanche upon his guilty head, Barnes is denying that he attacked Mother Jones' character as a woman. But he did, and

among others the editor of the **Christian Socialist** and Mr. Harvey P. Moyer heard him. In fact, he made the statement directly to these two men in the presence of others. He is on the official records as accusing Mother Jones of bribery and blackmail, and he is equally guilty of charging her with moral corruption. Let him bear the consequences.

The only way to close a case is to close it right. Holding down the safety valve to prevent the noise of escaping steam is sure to cause an explosion.

WHO SHALL PREPARE THE MINUTES OF THE BARNES CASE?

The editorials in the Miners Magazine and the two issues of the **Christian Socialist** which have been devoted to the Barnes case ought to compel the printing of the minutes. It was a great stroke of genius for the officials to have an "investigation" at the expense of more than $1,000 and then "decline to assume the responsibility of having the minutes printed" so that the comrades could see **upon what grounds they had arrived at a decision so onesided.** There is plenty of money in the treasury—**PRINT THE MINUTES.** If money is needed "cut" two of the N. E. C. meetings and the saving will pay for the minutes. Let every comrade who wants a copy send 50c to the national office demanding one.

BUT, WE PROTEST AGAINST THE ACCUSED NATIONAL SECRETARY ACTING AS EDITOR TO PREPARE THOSE MINUTES.

We demand that an impartial editorial committee upon which both sides shall have a representative be ordered to prepare the minutes for publication. The minutes were never read in "court," they were never o.k.'d by "both sides," and before they are printed important omissions should be supplied and important corrections should be made.

LET THE MINUTES TELL THE TRUTH, the loyal comrades will do the rest.

The Record Omits Important Parts and the Committee Would Not Permit their Insertion. On page 664 the minutes show that the reporter deliberately suppressed the discussion about Carr's right and demand to testify in rebuttal to Barnes, and introduces a gratuitous parenthetical note to supply the omission, leaving the reader in the dark as to what the argument was about. (Because the argument showed how Mrs. Lewis was involved by her own admissions of unusual intimacy with Barnes). Notice of Carr's vigorous protest and exception against striking out the Barnes testimony and against the Committee's refusal to let him (Carr) testify in reply to Barnes is omitted. On page 745, the last part of Carr's speech (referring to Mrs. Lewis' representation of her intimacy with Barnes) is omitted. On page 803 Carr's words referring to Mrs. Lewis and Barnes are omitted.

(The Committee declared repeatedly that Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Hudson were "not on trial" and refused all information that they could with reference to them, perhaps upon the unique supposition that if Barnes were convicted of sexual immorality it must be done without involving any woman; nevertheless the Committee in its report took special pains to "clear" these women it was so unwilling to investigate). The Committee seemed as anxious to save the reputations of Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Hudson as it was to damn the reputation of Mother Jones. Why?

After the Committee revised its decision, at the demand of Hillquit, to meet on April 8 (691), there is no record of the protest of Carr against the date fixed, the Committee's insolent reply, nor the demand of Carr to testify on the Barnes case at that time, before it was "closed" and no record of the sending for Larson to testify. The case was arbitrarily closed and the next one begun without giving the complainants a chance to sum up.

Other equally preposterous partialities might be cited if space permitted. Send for the minutes and read them for yourself.

There is no use trying to answer Goldstein, Dixon, Hill, et al., if we do not keep the official part of our party clean. Freelove officials and freelove national organizers can never win America to Socialism.

Report of Committee and Evidence on Charge of Drunkenness

We find that, while Comrade Barnes is not a total abstainer, he is but a moderate drinker. No testimony was produced showing that he ever was intoxicated to an extent preventing him from discharging his official duties as National Secretary. It was further found that the accuser, Comrade Brower, was in company with Comrade Barnes on occasions when the latter was charged with having been intoxicated. Brower also acknowledged his participation in the alleged drinking bouts and never protested against Barnes' conduct until his connection with the National Office was severed.

The charge of gambling in saloons we find consisted in the fact that Barnes, Brower, Chase and other comrades had shaken dice for the drinks, cigars or lunch checks during lunch and after office hours in a nearby saloon. Brower, according to his testimony, took part in the alleged gambling and consumed his share of the winnings. Other than the testimony of Comrade Brower, no evidence was produced by the accuser (Comrade Brower) that Comrade Barnes had used vile and profane language on such occasions, or had ever used improper language in the National Office. On the contrary, the committee finds that the conduct of Comrade Barnes toward the employes of the National Office was always gentlemanly and dignified.

On the charge of drinking in the office we find that Comrade Flaherty removed twelve empty bottles from a shelf in the National Office. These bottles were the only ones seen in five years. No testimony was produced showing that the bottles, if containing whiskey, were emptied by Comrade Barnes.

In the above report the white-wash brush got a little mixed with black-wash in the attempt to besmirch Brower, and the black splashed back rather thickly on Barnes' limecoat; but the Committee clearly revealed its benevolent intentions toward Barnes and its hostility toward Brower. The testimony, which perhaps the Committee did not have time to consider fairly, was as follows:

James H. Brower, one of the most prominent Socialists of Illinois, recent candidate for governor, and well known lecturer, testified (1) that Barnes habitually drank too much, (2) that on various occasions he was decidedly under the influence of liquor.

1. He stated that it was the custom of the men at the national office to go to lunch together and that Barnes and others took drinks both before and after lunch, often remaining after work hours to drink. He, a very moderate drinker, could not and would not "keep the pace" they set, and for that reason he ceased going with them. He saw that the drink habit was growing on Barnes (Pages 323-348 of typewritten report.)

2. Brower testified that once Barnes was noticeably under the influence of liquor in the National office, once he went on a spree and did not show up till the afternoon of the next day, and once at Skidmore's he became drunk, used foul language and could not be persuaded to go home. All these incidents were within a period of a few weeks during the early part of the year 1910. He declared that the Barnes of 1910 was not the Barnes he had formerly known on account of his increasing drunkenness. (Pages 328-351.)

Robt. Howe, expert accountant, testified that during three days he spent examining the books at the National office, Barnes was quite perceptibly under the influence of liquor and disagreeable therefrom on the first and third days—two out of three. (Pages 357-359.)

Walter Rihl, bookkeeper at the National office for 5 years and now bookkeeper for the Daily Socialist, seemed rather unwilling to testify against Barnes, but his examination revealed the following: He did not wish to say that he ever knew Barnes to be "incapacitated" from drink, except "in a limited sense." Barnes could always "attend to business, except upon rare occasions." When Barnes "was not feeling just right he did not try to do anything in particular," and when he was very much affected "he generally used to make himself scarce." (The last statement was repeated two or three times under cross-examination.) "Three or four times" Rihl admits Barnes was known by him to be pretty badly under the influence, but he insisted that this occurred "only once in a while." (Pages 376-381.)

If we had a copy of the minutes we would be glad to give more of the exact words of the witnesses.

Comrade Rihl also fully corroborated the testimony of Miss Flaherty, Mrs. Quimby and Brower to the effect that Barnes would habitually stay out on Saturday, delaying the girls with their work on the bulletin and thus prevent them from getting their half-holiday. The girls were "chronic kickers" about this (Pages 385-386.)

Mrs. Julia (Gavin) Quimby, a long-time employe at the National office, whose letter is printed elsewhere, fully confirms the charge of Barnes staying out on Saturdays and "holding the girls up two hours" sometimes. She did not know wh[illegible]s was, but Brower told the commi[illegible]ere he was. Perhaps they forgot.

Miss Ma[illegible] Flaherty testified that after the re-elec[illegible] Barnes in January, 1907, he became irregul[illegible] in his habits, signs of drink appeared on him and on Mrs. Lewis, he and Comrade Slick would return from lunch in liquor, Mrs. Hudson's breath gave proof of drink and twelve whiskey bottles appeared on the shelf, from time to time, and two partly filled were seen in the office drawers, during a period of about two months during the latter part of 1909 and the first part of 1910—not covering a period of five long years, as the Committee would have us believe. (Pages 409-423.)

Of course, Barnes denied everything except the very moderate use of intoxicants, declared he had never been under the influence of liquor in his life, and declared that he had drunk less during the last year. (If the last statement is true, which we doubt not, the charges have done him good.)

John Collins, a national organizer under Barnes, who had evidently been drinking and was a very defiant witness, disputed Brower and said he had never seen Barnes drunk, though admitting he had often drunk with him, while Comrade Work and others whose good reputations would not lead us to suppose that they had ever been chosen as companions of a spree, testified that **they did not know** of Barnes being unduly under the influence of liquor.

Remember that the Committee refused to make any effort whatever to obtain witnesses, and that the whole power of the National office, the N. E. C. and other powerful forces in Chicago tended to intimidate and prevent witnesses from appearing; yet we submit that the testimony of Brower, Rihl, Howe, Miss Flaherty and the others make the report of the Committee appear preposterous. Whether Barnes was fully "incapacitated" or not, except upon those occasions when he was wise enough to "make himself scarce" or not attempt to "do anything in particular," it is evident that he was anything but "a moderate drinker" during the years 1909-1910.

And we would like to know what certain men in Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Chicago and elsewhere, who were not called upon to testify, think of Barnes' declaration that he was "never under the influence of liquor in his life."

THE IRISHMAN'S WITNESSES

The testimony of Berger, Work, Alshuler and others at the Barnes trial on the questions of drunkenness and immorality remind one of the Irishman's witnesses. He was arrested for stealing a pig, and three good citizens declared they saw him steal the pig. He was astonished that any one had seen him in the act; but, with a great show of righteous indignation, he protested to the Judge: "Why, your honor, I could bring a hundred men here who would testify that they never saw me steal a pig!" But the few who could testify positively were worth more than all the rest who could only testify negatively. The testimony of Miss Flaherty was clear that the whiskey bottles were cleaned out just before the meetings of the N. E. C. And it is not likely that the spotless moralist, Comrade Work, would be taken deep into the confidence of those who do evil.

Charges of Immorality---The Report and The Evidence

Concerning the charge of immoral conduct between Comrade Barnes and two lady employes, we find that not the slightest evidence was produced proving improper relationship between the accused parties.

Miss Flaherty testified that during the months of December, 1906, and January, 1907, Comrade Barnes had left the National Office in broad daylight in company with Mrs. Lena Morrow Lewis, a national organizer of the party. On such occasions they left the office together and returned together. No evidence whatever was offered by the accusers showing that the two Comrades had visited improper places or had been found in incriminating attitudes. Neither was their conduct towards each other, according to the evidence produced, of a character otherwise than that which should exist between Comrades. The evidence shows that Miss Flaherty did not criticise the conduct of the Comrades accused until nearly five years afterwards, and not until she was discharged from the National Office.

On the charge that Mrs. Mabel Hudson, stenographer at the National Office, had worked overtime at night and had received extra pay for work of which no evidence could be found the next day, the evidence shows that Mrs. Hudson did work overtime, not for National Secretary Barnes, but for the National Executive Committee, and she was paid for this overtime rendered to the National Executive committee in session, and not for work done for Secretary Barnes.

It was further charged that on at least two of these occasions, she did not return home, but remained at a downtown hotel for the rest of the night.

The evidence produced shows that this was true, but Mrs. Hudson was not taken to the hotel by Comrade Barnes, but by several members of the National Executive Committee, from whom she had taken dictation until long after midnight. Mrs. Hudson occupied a room of her own and paid the bill herself on one occasion, while on the other it was paid by Comrade Berger.

The Committee finds, according to the evidence given, the conduct of the Comrades was perfectly proper and in no way violating either custom or conventionality, and in no way was Comrade Barnes connected with these stays at hotels.

Those who take the trouble to read carefully the minutes of the so-called investigation will find that the Committee's statement, "not the slightest evidence was produced proving improper relations between the accused parties" will be shown to be false or true according to what the reader regards as "improper relations" and what relations are proper to "exist between Comrades."

Let it be remembered that it is a well-known principle of common law, upon which all such cases are tried, that it is not required, in order to convict of adultery, that the actual fact be proved. In 99 such cases out of 100 where guilt is certain, it is impossible from the very nature of the case to prove the actual fact, by eye-witnesses. Such crimes are not often committed where they may be seen. Common law only requires that the **opportunity** be proven with **sufficient corroboratory evidence.** We claim the opportunity was proven, and that the corroboratory evidence was furnished.

Even Oscar Ameringer, ridiculing certain proofs presented while he was on the bench as Judge or Juror, asserted that if these parties had been "seen entering a hotel together at a late hour, or sitting at midnight in the high grass," it would be regarded as evidence of guilt. (Page 776.) The careful reader will see that evidence of exactly that character was produced, and corroborated, and that some of the very best corroborating evidence was **UTTERLY REFUSED A HEARING** by the Committee.

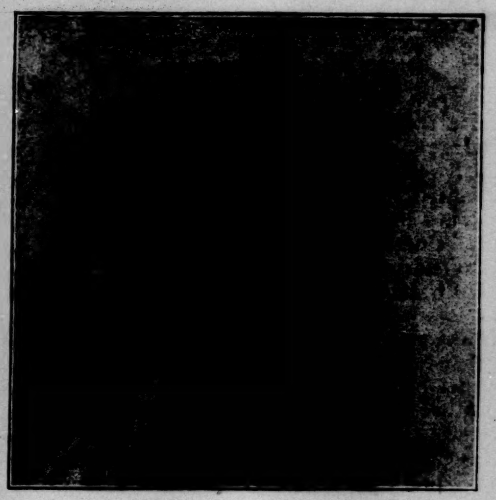
MISS FLAHERTY'S TESTIMONY

Miss Marguerite Flaherty was five years in the National Office. She is a woman of middle age, gentle, patient, refined in voice, word and manner. Her testimony was so clear, so simple, so dignified, so free from malice, that everyone was impressed with her sincerity. She could have had no possible motive, except the good of the cause. Her testimony, shown in the signed bill of charges and in her examination and cross-examination at the investigation, was as follows:

1. Barnes' conduct of the National Office and his habits of coming and going were faithful and proper until January, 1907.

2. When Lena Morrow Lewis began to frequent the National Office, Barnes became irregular. He would often leave the office at lunch time with Mrs. Lewis and not return for hours, sometimes not at all that day. This sort of thing was done "constantly" while Mrs. Lewis was in the city.

3. Mrs. Lewis caused much comment among the girls of the office by her assumption of authority and her general unconventional conduct. She was not an employe of the office and had no special business there, except as a national lecturer once in a while; but she infested the office daily for weeks at a time; presumed to handle and distribute the mail; went through the correspondence files at will; sat for indefinite periods in Barnes' chair at his private desk, leaving him to wait or to find a place to work elsewhere; left baggage at the office for long periods containing wearing apparel, which she needed from time to time, though she had a lodging place in the city, and continually took liberties that no one else was ever allowed.



Miss Marguerite Flaherty

4. Mrs. Lewis several times during this period showed signs of liquor, talked in a loud, coarse manner in favor of free-love—and then went out with Barnes for the afternoon and evening!

[The committee refused utterly to hear evidence concerning Mrs. Lewis' freelove talk. One of the members of the committee (Ameringer) expressed the committee's view when he said: "We do not care a flip what Mrs. Lewis' opinions on freelove are." But the records show that the evidence was presented, and we insist that it does make a vast difference in a case of this kind whether the woman involved is an advocate of sexual promiscuity. That for Mrs. Lewis to fill the National Office with the fumes of whiskey-breath and freelove-talk and then go out with Barnes, the married man, and keep him from his work till far into the night, is corroborative evidence of the very highest importance.]

5. "Times without number," declared Miss Flaherty, Barnes would remain away from the office after lunch hour on Saturdays until middle or late afternoon, keeping the girls waiting for copy for the bulletin when they were supposed to have the afternoon off.

6. In the autumn of 1908 a quarrel arose between Barnes and Comrade Slick over Mrs. Mabel Hudson, a stenographer in the National Office. [It seems that Slick, an unmarried man, had been going with Mrs. Hudson, a divorced woman; but Barnes, the married man, began to go with Mrs. Hudson, and then trouble began.] Different members of the office force, including Miss Flaherty, overheard Slick quarrelling with Mrs. Hudson about Barnes. He said, "You need not think that I do not know that you were out with Barnes the other night." [Mrs. Hudson admitted that these words were spoken to her by Slick and Barnes admitted that he and Slick quarreled about this at the office, at home and on the car—all one prolonged quarrel, which, he declares, was soon over.

[We must urge upon the Comrades the recognition of the importance of this quarrel between Barnes and Slick over Mrs. Hudson. It was this that caused Slick to tell Mother Jones about the Philadelphia woman. It was this that caused him to talk to different Comrades about the office, and it was this that opened up the whole case. Readers of the minutes will see that Comrade Slick, now dead, was, after all, one of the principal witnesses in the case. Had it not been for the trouble between Barnes and Slick over Mrs. Hudson, the case might not have opened up for a long time, if ever.]

Miss Flaherty declares that on the afternoon of the night Slick accused Mrs. Hudson of being out with Barnes she observed Mrs. Hudson leaving the office "some time after 3 o'clock," Barnes leaving soon after, and neither returning until the next morning. She says that Comrade Slick, who roomed at Barnes' home, said that Barnes did not come home at all that night. Soon after this Slick was dismissed from the National Office. And shortly after that he was killed by a street car.

7. After Slick's death Miss Flaherty testifies that Barnes and Mrs. Hudson often left the office together in mid-afternoon, not returning till after working hours, if at all. That they claimed they had worked overtime at night, but that the only evidence of their night work visible next day was the empty whiskey bottles, twelve of which appeared within about two months during that period, besides the two observed in the drawers of their desks.

8. Miss Flaherty also states that Mrs. Hudson sometimes told her and the other girls of the office at about that time that she and Barnes had worked so late that she had to stay all night at a hotel. [These occasions were not during Ex. Com. meetings, nor were they the occasions referred to by Berger.]

(For Miss Flaherty's testimony, see her charges in first part of the minutes and pages 553-572.)

RIHL'S TESTIMONY

Walter Rihl, one of the ablest men ever employed at the National Office and one of the most gentlemanly, seemed ever an unwilling witness; but being an honest, brave man, he submitted himself to examination. He was for five years book-keeper at the National Office, and states that he often worked at night. He testified that Barnes and Mrs. Lewis frequently went out at lunch time and did not return for hours. "Quite a number of times," he declared, they came back as late as from 8 to 10 p. m. This testimony is repeated. (Page 597.) Rihl's testimony on page 599 is not correctly reported. He said that Mrs. Lewis and Barnes returned to the office as late as ten o'clock p. m.—not "once," as the minutes state, but "a number of times."

How many times they returned to the office when Rihl did not happen to be there is not recorded.

MRS. QUIMBY'S TESTIMONY

Mrs. Julia Quimby (Miss Gavin while in the National Office) sent the following letter, which was read before the Committee:

San Diego, Calif., Aug., 1910.

My Dear Miss Flaherty:—

The copy of your charges, which I have just finished reading, I must say are true, most particularly that with reference to the Bulletin and Mrs. Lewis. She was as unwholesome and Godless a woman as I have ever met.

I have seen her going through the files as you say, and also sorting out the mail. She would sit down at Barnes' desk and write and stay there as long as she pleased whether he was there or not.

You know while I was working for Comrade Murray, Comrade Slick told me all about Barnes' and Mrs. Hudson's relations, and that was why he was fired, because Mrs. Hudson and Barnes got too thick, and he told Barnes so. He told me he was gathering his forces, and that Barnes and Mrs. Hudson would not be long in the National Office. Why, Miss Flaherty, Slick told every one about it. He said there was a friend of his on the North Side whom he was trying to get to join the Party, and he said to Slick, that he would join if they had a different National Secretary. Slick asked him why he did not like Barnes as a National Secretary, and he told him he had seen Mrs. Hudson and Barnes together and he said it did not look well for

the Socialist Party to have a man like him at its head.

Your statement about Barnes holding up all the office force on Saturday, every one in the National Office can verify that, if they tell the truth. You know I was the stencil cutter from the time I went there in August, 1907, to November, 1908 (with few exceptions when we got too rushed and Slick would cut a few to help me out). I have waited for as many as two hours and over for copy, and the Lord only knew where Barnes was, we did not. Every girl and man in the office was provoked more than once, for they could never make an engagement for Saturday afternoon, even when they were supposed to have a half day off.

I have often wondered if he would always get along as easy without someone making a complaint.

I am enclosing a form letter which Barnes sent me to sign, and I presume he sent it to others, but in view of all I heard about Barnes, from many sources, I felt that in justice to myself, I could not sign such a document. You will see that it is a vague thing and he does not explain anything.

If the Party members knew one-half of what Slick told me, he (Barnes), and Mrs. Hudson would not last long there.

Comrade Slick told me the thing which hurt him most was to see Mrs. Hudson eat at the same table with Mrs. Barnes, and to see her play with Mrs. Barnes' baby. He said he couldn't stand it.

He told me lots of other things, which I can not remember well enough to write for fear of misquoting Comrade Slick.

You may use this letter if you care to and I am sorry that I cannot be there to state what Slick told me if anything further comes up.

With love and best wishes, I am,

(Signed) Julia Quimby.

Barnes denied at the trial that he had sent any form letter out, and Morgan produced the one he had sent to Mrs. Quimby, thus proving before the Committee Barnes' denial to be false.

BERGER'S TESTIMONY

It was distinctly noticeable that, aside from the Committee's attempts to prevent evidence against her, no evidence was introduced to preserve the reputation of Mrs. Lewis; but, as a representative of the N. E. C., Berger went on the stand on behalf of Mrs. Hudson. His testimony, however, did not really tend to help Mrs. Hudson's reputation. Berger stated that on two occasions he had kept Mrs. Hudson at work at the national office receiving stenographic dictation until two o'clock in the morning and had then taken her to a hotel, because it was too late for her to go home. He did not intimate that any other members of the N. E. C. were present during his dictation on the fourth floor of a deserted office building, as the obliging investigating committee would have us believe; though he said that certain members of the N. E. C. were stopping at the hotel to which Mrs. Hudson was escorted.

We do not mean to infer that Berger did any greater wrong those nights than to keep a woman at work with him so late in such an out of the way place; but we do say that a grave indiscretion was committed, and that a woman careful of her reputation will not frequently commit the indiscretion of working alone with a man, not her husband, on the fourth floor of a deserted office building "until long after midnight."

Neither one of these instances testified to by Berger had anything whatever to do with the cases referred to in the charges; and the fact that Berger never saw Mrs. Hudson do anything worse than drink intoxicating liquor does not tend to clear Barnes of the charges preferred against him.

ADMISSIONS OF BARNES AND HILLQUIT

On page 597 the minutes show that Hillquit freely admitted that Barnes and Mrs. Lewis frequently came and went together to and from the national office. On page 616 Barnes admitted that on "several" occasions he and Mrs. Lewis went to lunch together, and on "several" occasions took evening dinner together. He does not state what business they had for frequently returning together to the third floor of a deserted office building on Dearborn street at ten o'clock at night.

Barnes admitted (page 623) that he and Mrs. Hudson worked together until eleven or twelve o'clock at night "a number of times" and then she had to go to a hotel because it was too late to go home. (These were not times when the N. E. C. was in session.)

Should not every loyal comrade object to the national secretary of the Socialist party remaining "a number of times" alone with a woman not his wife on the fourth floor of a big building (180 Washington street) at such hours of the night. And if the Committee had asked men about the building they would have found that such things were common with Barnes and Mrs. Hudson.

We venture the assertion, Comrade Amerinｇer, that for a man and woman to be together frequently for hours together on the fourth floor of a big building in the middle of the night is fully as reprehensible as "sitting in the tall grass," especially when it is remembered that the only evidence of this night-work visible next day, according to Miss Flaherty's testimony, was the empty whiskey bottles. And we declare that the national office should be forever freed from such needless and disgraceful customs. If so much legitimate night-work is necessary it is possible to secure a male stenographer.

HEARSAY EVIDENCE RECEIVED ON ONE SIDE AND REFUSED ON THE OTHER

When Barnes, Hillquit and the N. E. C. were trying to fasten upon Mother Jones the charge of blackmail, the Investigating Committee permitted Mrs. Hudson, herself discredited as a witness by being involved with Barnes in the charge of immorality, to testify that Comrade Slick (before he died) told her that Barnes had told him that he was troubled because Mother Jones was trying to make him pay the debt twice—which was hearsay evidence twice removed with the motive clearly discernable upon the surface. And in its efforts to damn the **Christian Socialist** with the prejudice against David Goldstein, the Committee took up a false rumor to the effect that some unnamed person had said that Goldstein was quoting the **Christian Socialist.** But when the complainants attempted to introduce the evidence of those who had heard directly from Comrades named that Mrs. Lewis herself had represented in their homes while she stopped there that she was in free love relations with Barnes, the evidence was peremptorily refused with much show of righteous indignation. And when, coached by Hillquit, Barnes opened up an interview that took place between himself and Carr some time ago, in which testimony he falsely accused Carr of trying to intimidate him by reports of what Mrs. Lewis had said, the Committee at Hillquit's request over the vigorous protest of Carr, agreed to strike Barnes' testimony on this point from the minutes, manifestly **IN ORDER TO PREVENT CARR FROM TESTIFYING TO THE TRUTH OF THAT MATTER.** But Barnes' testimony was only partly stricken out and as late as April 7 the most important part of it on cross-examination concerning that interview was still in the minutes.

A part of what Carr would have testified to in this connection is that while he was being entertained at the home of Mr. and Mrs. W. B. Slusser of Lakewood, Cleveland, O., they told him with hot indignation that Mrs. Lewis, while in their home for a week as a guest, a privilege she could never enjoy again, constantly talked freelove, behaved in an unseemly manner, received frequent letters from Barnes, parts of which she read to them with gusto, and represented herself as in freelove relations with him. Barnes knew of such conduct on Mrs. Lewis' part at this and other places for years from different letters and from different people, yet continued to welcome her at the National Office, go out with her by day and night, and send her as national organizer wherever she wished to go. After the first meeting of the Committee, Carr received the following letter from Mr. and Mrs. Slusser, which the Committee at the adjourned session refused to hear.

(Because the Slussers are not believers in religion as taught by the churches, Mrs. Lewis foolishly concluded that they would appreciate her unholy "advanced ideas" and practices):

LETTER OF MR. AND MRS. SLUSSER

Lakewood, O., Feb. 21, 1911.

E. E. Carr,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrade: Thinking maybe what I am about to write may be of some assistance to you in your effort to clean up the stench that emanates from the National Office of the party is my reason for writing you at this time. I have on many occasions in the past entertained comrades at my home, and among others Lena Morrow Lewis during April, 1907, to be exact, the week of April 7th. In the course of a few days of her stay she let us know that she believed in and was an advocate of free love, as the term is commonly used. She further told us she had an intimate friend in San Francisco who ran an assignation house, and that she lived with her while in that place; and justified not only her friend in the business but the frequenters of the place. Our opinion of her, gained from her own admissions during the week spent at our home, is that she is a moral degenerate. My opposition to Barnes as National Secretary dates from this time owing to the fact of his intimacy with this woman, something of which she seemed very proud, and which was evidenced by the frequency of the letters received from Barnes while here, extracts from which were read to us. Yours fraternally,

Mr. and Mrs. W. B. Slusser,
By W. B. S.

We must insist that such evidence as the above is far more than merely corroboratory. When a woman who admits that she lived in an assignation house, defends those who keep such a place and those who frequent it, professes her belief in freelove, and represents herself as in such relations with the National Secretary of the Socialist party, there must be something to it. And we unhesitatingly declare that a man who confesses unusual association with such a woman, especially after he has had letters and interviews informing him of her conduct, is utterly unfit to be chief official of the Socialist party.

MRS. LEWIS' "ADVANCED IDEAS"

Los Angeles, Cal., Feb. 8, 1911.

Dear Comrade Carr:

* * *

Mrs. Lena Morrow Lewis has lectured on the sex question so much in California that it became generally understood that she was "scientifically unconventional." So, when Mrs. Lewis came to Santa Maria to speak, I decided upon getting a more definite statement from her as to her position on the question. Before her meeting, at which I was to act as chairman, I had a conversation with her on one side in private. As I remember the conversation well, having put down the points carefully the next day, it was about as follows:

"What then, is your position on this sex question—this question on the relation of the sexes now—under capitalist conditions?" I spoke dispassionately.

"In the last analysis it amounts to this," answered Mrs. Lewis. "If the man 'makes good' to the woman, if he leaves her satisfied with the relation that has existed between them, then there has been no harm done. It matters not whether that relation was a simple hand-shake, a kiss or the final sex-act."

"But suppose a poor girl is much in need of hard cash—is she not a prostitute if she submits to the last-named for pay?"

There was a quiver of uncertainty in Mrs. Lewis' face, but she answered confidently: "The woman must be satisfied with the relation—that is the sex problem in a single statement."

"Capitalism has established a lot of ridiculous restrictions upon the personal conduct of individuals," she went on. "Socialists are in no way bound to consider these capitalistic institutions. Any one who pries into the private affairs of Socialists is impertinent to the last degree."

"So you are of the opinion that we are in no way bound to live as celibates, if we happened to be unmarried?" was my next question.

"As such restrictions are all a part of the Capitalist system, and as they are contemptible interferences with our private conduct, I insist that we are in no way bound by them."

"But do you not feel that the Socialists who hold representative positions in the party or those who draw salaries from the party are in a way bound to consider these capitalistic institutions?" I asked.

"Any one who pries into the private life of Socialists is to the last degree impertinent," Mrs. Lewis answered.

"What of one of the prominent comrades who confesses to the most radical views upon such questions, yet he lives a life absolutely conventional so that if investigated by the most 'impertinent' his private record could in no way harm the cause—is not that a far safer, saner and more loyal position to take?" I asked again.

"That's entirely a matter of personal choice," Mrs. Lewis said. "In the last analysis, it is nobody's business this matter of private opinion and conduct. Capitalism must go—and with it all that Capitalism has developed," she insisted.

Then there was a sentence or two more of conversation between Mrs. Lewis and myself, but we were interrupted as it was time to open her meeting.

* * *

Very sincerely and fraternally yours for Socialism,
(Signed) Bertha Wilkins Starkweather.

WHAT LARSON WOULD HAVE TESTIFIED

One of the most important witnesses which the complainants desired to introduce was James Larson, County Secretary of the Socialist party of Chicago (Cook County). His testimony was to have been introduced Sunday night, Feb. 5, but the delay caused by the discussion over the refusal of Carr's testimony made it impossible to call for Comrade Larson until nearly midnight when it was found that he had gone home. On Monday morning when he was called for the

chairman asked that some one go to the county office (a short distance away) and tell him to come. Some one volunteered to do so and later reported that he would not come. We did not discover until after the hasty adjournment Monday noon that LARSON HAD NOT BEEN NOTIFI[illegible] AT ALL. He indignantly denies being told to come, and was surprised that the case was closed without his testimony. As his testimony was important, we tried to get the Committee to hear him at the adjourned session along with the Slusser letter and Carr's testimony; but the "Investigating" Committee refused to hear any more evidence. They declared the case concerning immorality was "closed" and would not be reopened.

Moreover, knowing how anxious the complainants were to have Larson's statements come before the "investigating" Committee, the members of the Committee passed Larson's office door from two to six times a day while they were in Chicago (his office being on the next floor below the National Office); but neither the Committee nor any member thereof made any effort to get Larson's testimony.

The testimony of Comrade Larson, which he stood ready to give the Committee at any time, and which he stands ready to give to a new trial Committee, if one should be appointed, is substantially as follows:

Before his election as County Secretary he was an employe of the Daily Socialist and during the winter and spring of 1910 frequently saw J. M. Barnes and Mrs. Hudson passing to and from the national office at late hours of the night. Sometimes as if to throw off suspicion, she came or went by the elevator while he came down the stairs; but the apparent relations between them caused a scandal which was often talked of by those about the building. He says that the janitor, named Thompson, in charge of the building at that time, declared that he had surprised Barnes and his stenographer in the very act of adultery. After this report got out, Barnes took this janitor into his employ in the national office, as inventory clerk, for some time and then Thompson disappeared and can not at present be located.

The above report of Comrade Larson's, who is a man of exceptional intelligence, strength and courage, is important in several particulars. As to the fact of adultery, it is only hearsay evidence once removed; but as to the fact of the janitor making the statement, Larson's testimony is direct; as to the accused going and coming together at unseemly hours of the night, his testimony is direct; as to the scandal caused by this conduct, his testimony is direct, and as to Barnes hiring the man to be a helper in the national office after the report of the alleged adultery, his testimony is direct. And if the Committee of "investigation" had spent half as much time exploring for evidence on the side of the complainants as they did "investigating" the national office UNDER GUIDANCE OF THE ACCUSED they would doubtless have found other evidence to support the charges.

It is but just to Comrade Larson to say that while he stood ready and stands ready to testify before an authorized Committee he demurs against using his testimony now before the case is officially opened up again. But we feel that the comrades of the party should know now what evidence the Committee refused to hear at its adjourned meeting, why this evidence was not given at the first "investigation," and how the Committee neglected to interview a prominent and important witness so very convenient to them. No genuine "investigation" Committee can properly refuse evidence at any time, and no case will stay closed until it is closed right.

IN CONCLUSION

All the evidence we have presented in this issue which the Committee did not hear was presented either at the first "trial" or the adjourned session—and the only reason the Committee did not hear it and make it a matter of record on the minutes is because they WOULD not.

It will be seen from the evidence cited above that Barnes drank to excess and was getting worse up to the time the witnesses quit the national office; that he frequently remained from the office after lunch to linger at the bar; that he often came and went with Mrs. Lewis and later with Mrs. Hudson, and frequently was with one or the other of them in the national office at late hours of the night; that both Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Hudson used intoxicating liquor; that many empty whiskey bottles were found from time to time after Barnes and Mrs. Hudson had "worked overtime" at night; that Mrs. Lewis talked free-love in a loud, coarse manner when in the national office, and when away boasted of her free-love principles and her relations with Barnes; that Barnes knew of these rumors and Mrs. Lewis' reports about him and her for over three years, at least, yet continued to use her as a favorite national organizer, to allow her privileges in the national office that no one else enjoyed, and to go and come with her as a favorite companion, neglectful of his wife at home; that the conduct of Barnes with Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Hudson caused scandal in and around the national office; that a man, afterwards given a position in the national office and later disappeared, declared that he had seen Mrs. Hudson and Barnes in the very act of adultery.

We claim that such evidence as the above constitutes a case **beyond reasonable doubt**, and that when the "Investigating" Committee declared that **"not the slightest evidence was produced proving improper relations between the accused parties,"** it proved itself utterly incompetent, either from unconscious blindness or deliberate partiality, to try any accused official of the Socialist party. If this Committee actually believes that **such relations as were proved between Barnes and these women "should exist between comrades,"** they have done their best (or worst) to justify the gravest charges against our beloved movement.

People who preach free love will naturally practice it, and we insist that the honor and success of the Socialist party in America require that such women as Mrs. Lewis and such men as Barnes be deprived of official honor and responsibility.

METHODS OF A FREE LOVE WOMAN

The following is an extract from a letter recently received from a woman well known in the movement as to the Methods of a free love advocate:

She cultivates the acquaintance of prominent men Socialists and pretty soon she introduces long and animated discussions on the sex question with them. In the course of these discussions, she ridicules the "capitalist morality" as most contemptible. "Bourgeois morals" are made to look like the proverbial thirty cents, and soon the poor Socialist finds himself actually ashamed of his "old-maidish" scruples. He begins to feel that all his hard struggles to be "decent" were foolish. A new world opens up before him—to have desires and these desires gratified—he may allow himself a first cruise on the sea of license with this new teacher of his—this good and most revolutionary of women—this national organizer who seems to have the confidence of the Party of the People which he has been trying so faithfully to serve. Does she not condemn everything capitalistic? Even the old-fashioned moral considerations which he had considered as binding upon himself, lose all significance to him under the spell of the new "philosophy."

So he rests in the feeling of security until she is ready to awaken him from this first beautiful dream—when he has been seduced—when he is compromised, and she suddenly takes those same "bourgeois morals" into her firm, determined hand, and cracks them as a whip around her victim's head. He has much to lose by publicity and so becomes a humble tool in her hands. If he be a state secretary or a national secretary, she is said to have things fairly her own way as far as he can make it so to her.

THE CHARGE OF INCOMPETENCY

Since the N. E. C. refused Brower's reasonable request to investigate the national office during May, before one month or nine months had elapsed to give chance for necessary changes, since Brower's request to assist the special Committee to investigate in March was rejected, and since the conduct of the Committee in this regard was so arbitrary and peculiar, we do not have sufficient data to judge of the correctness of their report on this point and will not therefore discuss this phase of the charges at present.

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The weekly Christian Socialist was entered as second-class matter January 5, 1911, at the postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879.

The attempt to hide the offenses of officials only brings them into clearer light.

The Socialist party should have nothing to conceal. Let the whole truth be known. If any officials or organizers have, let them be known.

There are millions of American people ready now to support Socialism if they could be assured that it does not stand for free love and against religion. The Socialist party should show them that it does not.

The Socialist party can never free itself from the stigma of freelove as long as its funds are used to send out advocates of such principles as national organizers.

The party may seem to be temporarily injured by the disorder necessary to housecleaning, but the annoyance is as nothing compared with the benefits to follow.

The worst possible way to hurt the party is to let corruption fester and spread its poison in secret. The surgeon's knife hurts, but it often saves. Not to cut out a cancer means death.

REMEMBER THIS

The chief witnesses in defense of Barnes were himself and Mrs. Hudson. And, from the very nature of the case, **they would have testified the same whether they were innocent or guilty.** The other witnesses were national office employes, or had been until recently, or were in a financial way dependent more or less upon the national office.

Whereas, the witnesses against Barnes all testified at a sacrifice. They were certain to bring down upon their heads the unqualified condemnation of the national office, the N. E. C. and all narrow minded party zealots. This would tend to prevent them getting jobs or making a living except outside of party connections. It would naturally subject them to much misunderstanding and abuse. **THEY HAD NOTHING TO GAIN AND MUCH TO LOSE,** therefore they are the more worthy of belief.

The Time Is Now—Tomorrow May Be Too Late

Extracts from a Three Page Editorial in the Miners Magazine, Denver, Colo., Official Organ of the Western Federation of Miners

(It will be noted that workingmen speak very plainly to each other. They do not mince words. They try to express exactly what they mean. The words of the Editor of the Miners Magazine, in issue of March 30, are printed in 8 point type, our interpolations being in 10 point.)

It is not a pleasant task for any man in the field of journalism to assail the official coterie of a political party, in whose principles he believes, but when he becomes cognizant of the fact that "something is rotten in Denmark" and he fails to give the rank and file the benefit of his convictions, relative to the rottenness that exists in the official life of those in whom the rank and file have reposed their confidence, then such a man smothering his knowledge of guilt becomes as much a criminal as the party or parties whose acts and conduct have dishonored the political party that proclaims industrial emancipation for humanity.

It may be said that because we have appropriated to ourselves the right to apply logic and reason to the report of the investigating committee, and because we brand such a report as one of the most infamous documents that ever emanated from the perverted mentality of shameless lickspittles, that we are endeavoring to destroy the Socialist party. As well might a minister of the gospel, whose moral linen is dripping with the bestial filth of lewdness, raise the cry that "the church is being destroyed," because men and women with conceptions of a moral standard, demand that he shall no longer pollute a pulpit that is dedicated to the propagation of the doctrines of Christianity.

We have no desire or intention to aid in the destruction of the Socialist party, but we shall consecrate our humble efforts in the destruction of the hungry and unprincipled gang that have crawled like vermin into the Socialist party to become parasites on the per capita tax, assessments and all other revenues that are paid into the national treasury of the Socialist party, to be doled out to the "highbrows" who work their jaws for salaries and use the word Comrade to ingratiate themselves into the good graces and confidences of the rank and file, whose vision has not yet penetrated the hypocrisy and duplicity of an aggregation whose polluted presence would befoul the unsanitary stream of a sewer.

Dishonesty

The Editor of the Miners Magazine here takes up at length and in detail the report of the Investigating Committee with reference to Mother Jones' charges against Barnes and his charges against her, reproducing the two letters—one to Mother Jones and one to Morgan —**IN WHICH BARNES ADMITTED THE DEBT AND PROMISED TO PAY** after the time he now claims he had paid it all but the interest; showing also that, against the absolutely conclusive evidence of Barnes' own letters of admission, the only testimony worthy of the slightest consideration on Barnes' side is the remarkable testimony of Drees, for no connection whatever was established between the registered letter receipt and any money, or between the money order coupon and Mother Jones. Of the Drees testimony the Miners Magazine says:

Barnes makes the claim that he paid "Mother" Jones $100 in his office in the presence of "Comrade Charles Drees," and brings forward this "Comrade" to confirm his statement, who declares that he saw Barnes pay $100, and that this amount was paid in $10 bills. But let us ascertain who is Drees, and what the incentive might be that actuated this "Comrade" to come to the rescue of Barnes. When it is known that Drees and his daughter are both employes in the national office of the Socialist party and that both hold their jobs at the pleasure of Barnes, it is not difficult to discover the noble motives that prompted Drees to tax his memory to such an extent that after a period of five years he could remember so distinctly that $100 was paid in bills of the denomination of $10.

What personal interest had he in a moneyed transaction that only concerned "Mother" Jones and Barnes, that he noted so carefully the counting of $10 bills to the amount of $100?

Why did he "butt in" to a private transaction to such an extent that he remembered so distinctly the movements of his boss in the liquidation of a debt of $100?

The readers of the Miners' Magazine can draw their own conclusions as to the collusion that took place between Barnes and his slave in the office, as to the payment of this $100.

Again, on the unsupported statement of Barnes the committee reaches the conclusion that the balance of the debt was paid and winds up its verdict under the head of "Dishonesty" by expressing the opinion that "Mother" Jones was a blackmailer and forced Barnes to pay a second time the amount originally owed. This is the verdict of a committee, regardless of the fact that Barnes had not in his possession a single shred of positive evidence that he paid one dollar of the $200 which "Mother" Jones advanced him as a personal loan.

This is the verdict of a committee that feels no hesitation or reluctance in passing judgment on a transaction which judgment points the finger of accusation at a woman, condemning her as a "blackmailer," to exonerate an ingrate. Why did such a verdict come from the investigating committee?

The only conclusion that can be drawn from such a verdict is that the investigating committee realized that Barnes "knew too much," that he knew the weakness and the frailities of the National Committee and the National Executive Committee, and that if Barnes was convicted of the charges brought against him, he would squeal upon others and that there would be such disclosures that the membership of the party would stand amazed at the infamy of the official conglomeration that dominates the Socialist party in America.

The committee in "white-washing" the dishonesty of Barnes, arrived at the same conclusion as the signers of the Declaration of Independence in the days of '76, when one of their number declared: "We must hang together or we will hang separately."

Drunkenness

With reference to the Committee's report concerning the charge of drunkenness, having no opportunity to read the testimony which we cite under the Committee's report printed elsewhere, and forming its conclusions only from the report iself, the Miners Magazine says:

The above findings of the committee, while speciously worded to acquite Barnes of drunkenness, yet convicts him. The committee shows an anxiety to give the impression that Brower, who filed the charges against Barnes, was suffering from the enjoyment of too much "booze," but the infallible Barnes was only a "moderate drinker." Brower, though "participating in drinking bouts with Barnes," and acknowledging the same, seems to cut no figure with the committee, on the grounds that Brower "never protested until his connection with the National Office was severed."

What has Brower's severance from the National office, or the fact that he failed to make a protest against Barnes while holding a position under him, got to do with the guilt or innocence of Barnes?

But the committee on the evidence was forced to admit that "twelve empty bottles" were found in the office of the National Secretary, but the wise and brainy committee was unable to ascertain whether the empty bottles ever contained whiskey or that the bottles were "emptied by Comrade Barnes."

The committee was an investigating committee and it was the duty of that committee to ascertain who brought the bottles into the National Office, what those bottles contained and who emptied the contents of those bottles. But the committee forgot that it was an investigating committee and adopted the methods of a defense or "white-wash" committee, in order that the immaculate Barnes might be saved from the charge of drunkenness.

Let us suppose that a banker, corporation, merchants or any other employer of labor discovered twelve empty bottles in the office of a clerk and such employer of a clerk concluded to make an investigation, is it reasonable to presume that such an employer would be unable to ascertain who brought the bottles into the clerk's office, what the bottles contained or who drained the bottles of their contents?

The investigating committee presenting such conclusions under the head of "Drunkenness" either insults the intelligence of the membership of the Socialist party, or else entertains the opinion that the rank and file are made up of idiots and numbskulls.

Immorality

For the keen points of this criticism see the Committee's report. Having seen only the report of the Committee, the Miners Magazine was misled about Mrs. Hudson having received shorthand dictation from the members of the N. E. C. at a hotel until "long after midnight." The facts are not so favorable to her. See our review of Berger's testimony. Also see report of the Committee.

The committee in the above conclusions were unable to discover any evidence of an intimacy "of a character otherwise than that which should exist between comrades."

Why use the word "comrades"?

Should there be any more familiarity or intimacy between "comrades" than between any other people, who have not as yet become addicted to the use of that endearing term, "comrade"?

But the committee found that Miss Flaherty did "not criticise the conduct of the comrades until she was discharged."

The committee should know that an employe under the supervision of Barnes did not dare to criticise, without suffering the liability of losing employment. Employes of an office needing employment to earn the means of life, can very seldom assume such independent attitudes as to censure or criticise the conduct of the man who holds in his custody their right to work.

The fact that Miss Flaherty did not make known her censure or criticisms until she was discharged has nothing to do with the truth or falsity of her statements. It was the duty of that committee to ascertain beyond every question of a doubt as to the merit of every statement that reflected upon the moral character of those involved.

But the committee did find that an angelic creature named Mrs. Hudson found it necessary to secure apartments at a hotel on more than one occasion in order to take dictations from several members of the National Executive Committee, and that these dictations were taken "until long after midnight."

What emergency arose in the Socialist party that this accused "soul mate" or "affinity" of Barnes must remain in a hotel taking "dictations" at hours in the night when honest and moral people are "wrapped in the arms of Morpheus"?

Did it appear to the committee that there was any evidence here of an intimacy "of a character otherwise than that which should exist between comrades"? In the language of the gallery god: "Oh, Rats!"

The Wilshire Schemes

The committee in the closing part of its report endeavors to convey the impression that the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party "has done all in its power to warn the membership of the danger involved in such enterprises as the Wilshire gold mining schemes, but the committee refrained from telling just what the National Executive Committee did do in warning the membership against the swindling operations of Wilshire. The fact that Wilshire, according to reports furnished by government experts, cleaned up more than $2,000,000 in exchanging worthless stock for good, sound current coin of the realm, brands the statement of the committee as a brazen falsehood, and no one knows better than the investigating committee that the Socialist party officially took no effective steps to stop the piracy of Wilshire, who left the United States for a more congenial clime in England.

A Whitewash Committee

The investigating committee, by its report, shows that it was a defense or "white-wash" committee, and that it struggled heroically to put wings on the angel—Barnes—while putting horns and hoofs on his accusers.

The committee in its verdict, which brands "Mother" Jones as a blackmailer, was peerless in its depravity and can give cards and spades to the debauched forty-six United States Senators who placed the mantle of "the American House of Lords" on the shoulders of "the blonde boss of the stock yards."

The "white-wash" committee and Barnes may empty a few more "schooners" and guzzle glasses of "red-eye" in celebration of the infamy that was perpetrated upon a woman, who has given the best years of her life to the labor movement, but let us tell this committee and the beneficiary of its shameless verdict, that "chickens will come home to roost."

Justice to Mother Jones

This woman who has stood upon the firing line of the labor movement of this continent for a quarter of a century, who has faced the injunction of judiciaries, the deadly weapons of professional murderers, the bristling bayonets of state militia and federal troops, and who has suffered the humiliation of deportation and imprisonment in jails and pesthouses for the cause of laboring humanity, cannot be maligned by the slander of an aggregation that is sightless to shame and senseless to honor. In all the years that "Mother" Jones has fought the battles of the working class no sheet of capitalism has yet dared to impeach her honesty, but it remained for "the tailings of the world's humanity" identified with the Socialist party officially to spew its venomous filth upon the character of a woman, whose memory will be perpetuated in speech and story, when Barnes and the quintet of "whitewashers" will be remembered as the microbes that bred a pestilence in the Socialist movement of America.

This woman, who is approaching the seventy-eighth mile post in her life, needs no vindication from the pen of the editor of the Miners' Magazine. Her spotless honor and her unsullied integrity are known to the brave and dauntless men and women of this country, and when it becomes known that "comrades" that have been charged with "dishonesty," "immorality" and "drunkenness" have attempted to murder the good name of a woman whose every effort has been dedicated to the battle of right against might, there will be an uprising that will forever cleanse the Socialist party of the professional parasites and soulless slanderers who have prostituted the Socialist party to subserve their personal interests. If the membership fail to grapple with this situation that now disgraces the Socialist party officially, then the party will be submerged in a cesspool whose stench of "free love" and moral rottenness will nauseate even the callous stomach of the Brotherhood of Libertines.

The time is now; to-morrow may be too late.

ABOUT THE MINUTES

The following is a transcript from pages 9 and 10 of the official minutes of the Barnes "investigation." All our page references in this paper apply only to the official typewritten copies now in the National Office. The minutes have not yet been printed.

Morgan—I wish to know whether that includes an equal right to the report of the stenographer.

Hillquit—The stenographer, I understand, is engaged by the Committee. He makes a transcript of the proceedings for the Committee, and I suppose that the Committee will recommend that both sides, the Ex. Com. and the complainants, ought to have copies of the proceedings. You can run off three copies as well as one.

Chairman Maurer—The transcript will be O. K.'d by the Committee and the two sides.

Morgan—That was not the question. We wanted to know whether copies would be made for both sides.

Chairman—Of course; for the National Committee also for both sides.

Goebel—I think it would be well, if it is possible, for the stenographer at the beginning of each session to furnish a transcript of what took place at the previous session. If there has been any question of the facts, it must be decided upon at the beginning of the new session, so that all can agree.

Brower—That is a bit early. Let us take that up later from day to day. I am perfecty willing that both sides shall accept the transcript and sign it.

Morgan—All I desire is that we shall have a copy of the record the same as they have, and then when the Committee makes its report we shall be able to go over and O. K. it as having received our scrutiny, as well as the Committee. That is all.

There are a few points to note in the above.

1. The complainants demanded and were promised a copy of the minutes for their own use and possession "the same as the others." As Hillquit suggested, **THREE** copies were made so that "both sides" and the committee might each have one.

Morgan, Brower and Carr had previously agreed that if they were not promised a copy of the minutes at the beginning they would hire a stenographer and have minutes made for themselves.

But the Committee, **AFTER IT WAS TOO LATE FOR THE COMPLAINANTS TO HAVE THEIR OWN RECORDS MADE,** violated their honor and utterly refused to let them have a copy, or even to take a copy away to make a copy from. By this rank injustice the complainants were denied a fair chance to prepare their appeal to the comrades from the foul decision of the Committee. The accused national secretary was left in official charge of the record of his own case and the other side must ask his permission to make notes! This tyrannical and needless betrayal of their promise concerning the minutes does not add to our confidence in the Committee's honest intentions.

The complainants need a copy of the minutes for reference, and for their own protection, and a letter was therefore sent to each of the members of the N. E. C. (except Mrs. Lewis) asking each one of them to right this manifest injustice by moving that Barnes turn over to Carr in trust for the others the promised copy. Some answered kindly and some answered venomously, but not one of them made the motion asked for. **THEY WERE EVIDENTLY AFRAID WE MIGHT PUBLISH SOME OF THE TESTIMONY FROM THE MINUTES.** They want the matter "hushed up." Very naturally they do. But we cannot tamely submit to such highhanded injustice. We demand of the National Committee a copy of those records.

2. It was promised by the Committee, through the chairman, that "both sides" should O. K. the minutes. But no such opportunity was ever given. **AND WE CHALLENGED THE CORRECTNESS OF THE MINUTES AT IMPORTANT POINTS, BUT COULD GET NO REDRESS WHATEVER FROM THE COMMITTEE. AND WE DEMAND THAT IF THE MINUTES ARE PRINTED THE WORK OF EDITING AND PROOF-READING SHALL NOT BE LEFT TO THE ACCUSED ALONE, BUT THAT A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMPLAINANTS BE PERMITTED TO HELP EDIT AND O. K. THE RECORDS.**

3. The very just and sensible suggestion of Goebel that transcripts of each previous session be furnished and agreed upon was entirely ignored. No such transcripts made their appearance until near the end of the last session of the trial and then there was no attempt to get them O. K.'d.

The minutes are defective at important points, as we shall show, nevertheless there is so much in them that the accused and the Committee would not want the comrades in general to know that we do not believe they will print the minutes unless a general demand is made for them. Why spend nearly $500 for a report of the trial and over $500 for other expenses of the trial—a dead outlay—and then balk at printing the minutes at an expense of $600 when every copy sold would reduce the net cost? However, we expect that the articles of the Miners Magazine, the Provoker, the Militant and the **Christian Socialist** will create so great a demand for these minutes that they will yet be printed. Then the comrades will be able to see why the Committee refused to "assume the responsibility of having them printed" in the first place. The minutes make their report look very bad. And we give fair warning now that if the minutes are further tampered with before being printed we shall not hesitate to expose the outrage. They must be O. K.'d by "both sides."

OTHER OUTRAGEOUS PARTIALITIES

In addition to the refusal of the Committee to let the complainants have the copy of the minutes WHICH WAS PREPARED FOR THEM according to the agreement recorded on pages 9 and 10, other glaring instances of outrageous partiality and injustice may be cited. Space forbids our mentioning all; here are a few samples:

1. **Unseemly Haste.** With seven cases to investigate—charges of dishonesty, charges of drunkenness, charges of immorality, charges of incompetency against Barnes, each to be "tried" separately; the conduct of the Executive Committee, the conduct of the Provoker, and the conduct of the **Christian Socialist—at the first session,** which began near three o'clock Saturday afternoon, Chairman Maurer expressed the undisputed judgment of the Committee that he did "not see why we should not be able to finish tomorrow" (page 11).

"The Committee should take (force) its own time and not drag on indefinitely," urged Hillquit **in the first session** (page 88). "If a comrade is sick or has business elsewhere, let him stay away," declared Ameringer (page 88). On our demand in the first session that Mother Jones be sent for, Ameringer said: "We can't hang around waiting for her." He did "hang around" longer than that, and if Mother Jones had been sent for then, she could have been present at the Monday session. Chairman Maurer protests that it was inconvenient for him also to come, forgetting that **he had voted for himself** to be a member of the Committee and that Mother Jones was at Denver **under previous engagement to help get sixteen miners out of jail** for contempt of court. Millard, who approved this unseemly attempt to rush the trial was still "hanging around" the national office two months later.

At Stedman's suggestion, Chairman Maurer threatened to "close the case at once" unless Morgan and Carr ceased trying to introduce new evidence and put Mother Jones on the stand immediately (759).

Stedman moved to adjourn in the midst of Mother Jones' attempt to make the Committee understand her point (797). The minutes show other similar attempts to railroad the cases through without a fair investigation.

2. **Browbeating the Complainants.** From the first hour the Investigating Committee and the N. E. C. browbeat Morgan, Carr and Brower as if the committee were all on the side of the defense (as the N. E. C. **professedly was**) instead of trying to investigate the case. The Committee was so active in making objections to and obstructing the prosecution that the defense needed no attorney. Sometimes this bulldozing continued for several pages of the minutes at a time. (See pages 14, 37, 88, 91, 130, 137, 140, 141, 221, 252, 560, 574, 582, 595, 604, 607, 752, 758, 759, 766, etc., etc.)

"We are running this hearing," said Maurer, repeatedly, while refusing us a chance to introduce evidence at the adjourned session. "WE WILL SEE WHO IS BIGGEST IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY," said Millard, when Brower was trying to get a hearing (page 758). Many other instances appear in the minutes.

3. **Refusal to Seek Witnesses and to Admit Testimony.** Time and again this "Investigating" Committee refused to try to get evidence. When Morgan demanded certain official documents from the national office to be produced as evidence, Ameringer, Millard, Maurer and Hillquit all opposed, on the ground that Morgan was trying a "fishing expedition" to get "the other side" to furnish the evidence. (These were **party documents** and belonged as much to the prosecution as to the defense—but the Committee did not wish to investigate. Committee refuses to send for Mother Jones and Chase (88). "Bring on your evidence," says Hogan (31). Again Morgan demanded certain official papers and Chairman Maurer demurs, saying, "Produce your evidence" (137). Chairman again evades demand for papers and "wants the charges (evidence) against Barnes now" (140). Complainant's demand for Chase and Mother Jones again refused (229). CHAIRMAN MAURER REFUSES TO HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH PRODUCING RIHL OR ANY OTHER WITNESSES. Carr insists upon the Committee using its right to summon witnesses (298). Ameringer objects to investigating Barnes' efficiency too far (537). The Committee refused to seek information from County Secretary Larson **whose door they passed every day,** and who was kept from testifying by the trick explained elsewhere. His testimony, Carr's testimony and the Slusser letter were all refused a hearing at the adjourned session. It was a great "investigating" Committee.

4. **Partiality in Admitting Testimony.** As we have shown in another column, **twice removed** hearsay evidence by Mrs. Hudson and a rumor (**suggested** and born on the spot at the "trial"), that some unknown and unnamed person had said so and so, were freely admitted and given decisive weight by the Committee to condemn Mother Jones and the **Christian Socialist,** but Carr was arbitrarily refused the opportunity to testify in his own behalf against Barnes' lately hatched insinuations, and first hand hearsay evidence was refused on the side of the complainants to prove the relations between Barnes and Mrs. Lewis **claimed by herself.** At the adjourned session all evidence of the complainants, except from Mother Jones, was refused, though new evidence will open a case in any just court; yet Barnes was permitted to file a long statement containing new testimony against Brower and against Rihl. In this testimony BARNES CONVICTS HIMSELF OF DELIBERATE FALSEHOOD AND SLANDER, for he testified that Rihl was discharged "for inattention to business and loss of time" (816), whereas he had formerly testified (461) that only Martin, Flaherty and Brower had been discharged. On page 461 he was trying to hide the fact of his star witness Drees's discharge, on page 816 he was trying to punish Rihl for having testified against him.

When Brower asked the Committee when they desired him to assist them to investigate the national office and point out the delinquencies he had charged, Millard made the following brilliant remark (page 761): "Being a member of the Socialist party in good standing, it is understood that I have ordinary common sense, as I understand comrade Ameringer has exhibited in all my associations with him, and that was the groundwork upon which we investigated the national office." But he did not state the fact known to the writer and others that he and Amering[illegible]ere assisted to "investigate" the office by the accused, Mrs. Lewis, Mrs. Hudson and Barnes. They would naturally steer them clear of all the dangerous places which Brower might have shown. The Committee apparently needed help from only one side—and people blessed with "ordinary common sense" and honesty will be disgusted with that sort of an "investigation."

5. **No Place Allowed for Defense to Sum Up.** On pages 127, 250, 553, 679 and other places, the minutes record the expressed desire of the complainants to make a closing argument and the promise of the Committee that they should have the opportunity to do so, but that opportunity was never given.